

## TURNING POINT IN THE INDIAN MEDIA-MILITARY RELATIONSHIP: THE KARGIL WAR

KRITI ATTRI SINGH

Assistant Professor & Research Scholar, School of Communication, GD Goenka University, Sohna, Haryana, India

### ABSTRACT

*The Kargil war was India's 'first war on television' and opened up enormous scope for the researchers from various dimensions to understand and analyse this war in general and media studies in particular. The objective of the paper is to analyse the Kargil war from the military media dimension. The working paper is part of a bigger study and is based on the grounded theory method as advocated by Corbin and Strauss. The paper brings out the reasons why the Kargil war became a turning point and discusses its positive, as well as negative dimensions of media reporting, occurred during that time.*

**KEYWORDS:** Kargil War, Media Military Relationship, Media, Conflict, War & News Media

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### INTRODUCTION

As the country reminisces the victory of our brave soldiers nearing after two decades of the Kargil War, the event has left behind an enormous scope for the researchers from various dimensions to understand and analyse this war. One such attempt to analyse this war is the military media dimension of the war as Kargil war was India's 'first war on television' and our own first encounter of newly liberalised media landscape experiencing its first indigenous 'CNN effect'. In a way, there were many first attached to this war.

### OBJECTIVE

The objective<sup>1</sup> of this part of the research paper to present how the Kargil War became a turning point in the Indian Media-Military Relationship and bring out the positive and negative dimensions of Indian Media-Military Relationship during Kargil War.

### METHODOLOGY

The research paper is part of a bigger study, which is qualitative in nature and is based on the grounded theory method as advocated by Corbin and Strauss.

### DATA COLLECTION

The research paper is based on primary and secondary data collection. For primary data, the research undertook in-depth interviews. The sample design for the interview was done under non-random sampling technique, under which purposive sampling was used. For in-depth interviews semi-structured questionnaire along

<sup>1</sup> This paper is a working paper and part of a bigger research study.

with probing questions was used. The participant profile<sup>2</sup> included veterans from the Indian armed forces, a civilian officer acting as a bridge between the Ministry of Defence (MoD) and media, and journalists from defence journalism. Besides, the observation method, memo writing and field notes were used. For secondary sources government document, journals, newspapers, historical documents, books, autobiographies, biographies and so on were used.

## INDIAN MEDIA-MILITARY RELATIONSHIP DURING KARGIL WAR: A TURNING POINT

This historic war is also seen as a turning point in Indian media Relationship. While talking about the impact of the Kargil war on both the institutions, respondent 2B<sup>3</sup> who was a veteran from Indian Army, noted, “*And the manner in which in a matter of weeks the whole conflict was transformed in favour of India, not only militarily but politically and diplomatically. So that is the background to the commencement of a new relationship between the media and the military in India.*” As noted by Indian army veteran, defence veteran respondent 1A<sup>4</sup>, “*Kargil conflict was a good turning point as far as the media outlook towards the Defense Forces are concerned and vice versa.*”

Moreover, one can see how the war provided a moment to armed forces to realize the importance of Indian Media. The decision made by the top brass to get the media-personnells gave the armed forces a chance to create its own narrative. As noted by defence veteran respondent 2B<sup>5</sup>, “*.... at a certain time the Army Chief General Malik realised and I think very correctly took a decision that the media could help us a lot by painting the correct picture because the world had to believe that Pakistan had betrayed us...*”

Although it wasn't the part of the strategy but later on the media was involved in reporting the conflict, a decision that came after realising the significance of media in creating narratives, which suited the needs of the military. Furthermore, as the defence veteran respondent 2B<sup>6</sup>, noted, “*The Indian army unrealising did it. I do not give credit to the army that they did it as a part of strategy immediately, but over a period of time it evolved because it was almost a two and a half three month conflict, it evolved and towards the later side part of it the Army went whole hog with the media. And the Army Chief realised it at the highest level and took the right decisions at that time.*”

It also gave an opportunity to the Indian Media-Military Relationship to evolve as armed forces began to communicate more with the media and provide them with an opportunity to work in their space and also as an instrument to glorify their acts. It was also observed how the armed forces understood the relevance of ‘information’ which was to be passed to the masses and media as an instrument to accelerate that flow of information, which not only provides a favorable environment to the armed forces but also supremacy over the adversary. As noted by the defence veteran respondent 2B<sup>7</sup>, “*Pakistan had to be painted as the villain of this entire thing and the Army could not do it on its own. It had to be carried by the national media and international media to a very great extent.*” Furthermore, as pointed by defence veteran now in media, respondent 5E<sup>8</sup>, “*And the Indian Armed Forces subsequently used the media effectively by taking them to conflict areas and showing them how they had undone Pakistan's adventure.*”

<sup>2</sup> To maintain research ethics and anonymity was maintained by giving them codes like 1A, 2B, 3C and so on. Kindly refer the footnotes to see the participant profile brief.

<sup>3</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid (n-3)

<sup>5</sup> Ibid (n-3)

<sup>6</sup> Ibid (n-3)

<sup>7</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

<sup>8</sup> The respondent was an ex-serviceman and presently working with Indian news media.

The war also witnessed the change in Indian military mindset, from media management to media interaction. As noted by respondent defence veteran 1A<sup>9</sup>, *"So the first change which took place what in the mindset was that from media management, we started of calling it as media interaction .... We are Professionals of our own kind. So it's an interaction between two different professionals"*.

## **INDIAN MEDIA-MILITARY RELATIONSHIP DURING KARGIL WAR: THE POSITIVE DIMENSION**

### **Electronic Media Personnel First Hand Experience of War**

The Kargil war also provided the Indian electronic news media the firsthand experience of war. The need of the Indian Army to use media to its advantage and it appears that the US media military relationship also influenced our own thinking process of involving media personnel to cover wars and create narratives as the US military also had a similar kind of approach can be seen adopted by the Indian armed forces during the Kargil war. As noted by defence veteran respondent 1A<sup>10</sup>, *"This was the first time when some media personnel were physically there at the place where the troops were fighting."* With regards to the participation of the electronic media and its first hand experience, defence journalist respondent 8H<sup>11</sup> pointed, *"So for electronic media this was for the first time they were covering this war."* While elaborating on the Indian landscape, respondent veteran defence journalist 10J noted, *"It was, TV had just started. I mean that whole phenomenon of Barkha Dutt reporting live was, I think for the media the iconic sort of thing came out of it."*

### **Indian News Media Brought War Closer to the Indian Masses**

Due to boom in television channels and continuous reporting on the Kargil war, on the similar lines with the Gulf War, the Kargil war coverage also brought 'war' in to the 'drawing rooms' of the people. As noted by defence veteran respondent 1A<sup>12</sup>, a veteran from Indian Army and part of Kargil War, *"During Kargil it was seen that that was the first time when the war was brought to the drawing room of people and the entire country."* As noted by defence journalist respondent 8H<sup>13</sup>, *"And for the first time Indians came to know the how our soldiers fought or fight in such difficult conditions, terrains or weather because at the time also journalists had gone there in Kargil, Drass etc."*

### **Indian Media helped in Transforming the War**

Although initial Indian news media reports were very critical about the Indian defence forces, however with the passage of time it changed. As noted by defence veteran respondent 2B<sup>14</sup>, *"The Army which actually was to blame very largely for what had happened in the sense that our intelligence had not worked. Our surveillance had not given us the right picture and the Army was found wanting in the overall initial steps, all this were overcome to a very great extent by creating a positive environment about the manner in which the Army work responding. This is what actually brought about the whole transformation of the approach of the army to us towards the media."* The reportage gradually started tilting the perception of the war into pro-India stance. As noted by defence veteran respondent 2B<sup>15</sup>, *"And at the end of the day if you speak to a Pakistani today, he will always tell you that it is the Indian media which played a major role in the*

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<sup>9</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

<sup>10</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

<sup>11</sup> The respondent was from defence journalism.

<sup>12</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

<sup>13</sup> The respondent was from defence journalism.

<sup>14</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

<sup>15</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

*transformation of the Kargil conflict, the Indian army unrealising did it."*

### **Indian Media Military Synergy was Sheer Luck of Chance**

The conflict provided the media and military a chance to move together in an uncharted territory never ventured before. It was an unplanned synergy, which knowingly or unknowingly benefitted the country at large. As noted by defence veteran respondent 2B<sup>16</sup>, "... *Indian media which played a major role in the transformation of the Kargil conflict, the Indian army unrealising did it.*"

As noted by veteran defence journalist respondent 9I,<sup>17</sup> who was a veteran defence correspondent, "*A lot of people talk about Kargil as the best example of synergy between the military and the media. Yes, the outcome did reflect the synergy, but it wasn't it wasn't the planned interaction or planned engagement in Kargil..... happened by chance by sheer proximity to each other in Kargil during the conflict because media landed up there and the Army was and the access that was there along the highway. It was a sheer pleasant accident.* While talking on the role of defence forces in this unplanned synergy, defence veteran respondent 2B<sup>18</sup> who was a veteran from Indian Army, states, "*I do not give credit to the army that they did it as a part of strategy immediately, but over a period of time it evolved because it was almost a two and a half three month conflict, it evolved and towards the later side part of it the Army went whole hog with the media.*"

### **Recognition of Media as a Force Multiplier**

The war also provided an opportunity for the armed forces to see the Indian media as 'force multiplier' and 'instrument of perception management'. As noted by respondent 5H<sup>19</sup>, "*One is there has been recognition within the military establishment that the media can be made a force multiplier and therefore keeping things completely secret from the media beyond the point is counterproductive.*" One can also witness a shift in the mindset of the military, from seeing media from an adversary point it started seeing the media as a friend. As noted again by 5H<sup>20</sup>, "*Media is a friend, is a force multiplier and should be used accordingly.*"

Moreover, the role of media as a force multiplier was also agreed by the government along with the military and its impact as the force multiplier was observed during the later stage of the Kargil War. As noted by the respondent 6F<sup>21</sup>, "*In fact it said that it would be a great force multiplier if proper equation is evolved and which was actually seen in the second phase of the Kargil war and the reportage of it.*" As noted by the respondent 11K<sup>22</sup>, a veteran defence journalist, "*It is a force multiplier, always, I mean it is kind of.. It is the medium and now media I am including even this the new age media, new ways medium WhatsApp and Facebook and social media, I am including that...*" The same observation was highlighted by the Kargil Review Committee report. As pointed by defence veteran respondent 2B<sup>23</sup>, "*So this is the trigger and then the Kargil Review Committee went into the depths of it and did come out with the fact that it was a force multiplier, the media.*"

<sup>16</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

<sup>17</sup> Respondent was from defence journalism.

<sup>18</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

<sup>19</sup> The respondent was an ex-serviceman and presently working with Indian news media

<sup>20</sup> The respondent was an ex-serviceman and presently working with Indian news media

<sup>21</sup> The respondent was a civilian officer who have served term as the longest defence spokesperson for Ministry of Defence (MoD). The respondent was a deviant case as the individual was neither from armed forces not from defence journalism but acted as bridge between both the institutions.

<sup>22</sup> The respondent was from defence journalism

<sup>23</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

### **Military using Media as an Instrument of Perception Management**

The war also saw how the Indian military used Indian media for perception management. As noted by respondent 8H<sup>24</sup>, *"And from this war the coverage of this war, changed the whole perception about Army..... Soldiers became like, if not God, but then people started revering them, yes, they are the soldiers and they have laid their life for our territories or for our country. So they have another type for perception, yes they are the soldiers, which (Indian) army could not gain after 71 war. As pointed by the respondent 11K<sup>25</sup>, a veteran defence journalist, "It (Media) is so such a powerful tool to change perceptions".*

### **Pakistan Nefarious Plans Were Exposed**

Due to continuous India media reporting, the nefarious plans of Pakistan were relayed to not only within the country but also internationally. These not only weaken the stance of Pakistan in the international community but also had a huge psychological impact with the Pakistan itself. In words of respondent 2B<sup>26</sup> who was a veteran from Indian Army, *"Pakistan strategically, diplomatically was on the back foot because of the reporting which was going in the world was watching this entire thing. The Pakistani lie which was being proven that there are Mujahideen fighting for freedom on top there."* Furthermore as pointed by respondent 5E<sup>27</sup>, *"And the Indian Armed Forces subsequently used the media effectively by taking them to conflict areas and showing them how they had undone Pakistan's adventure."*

### **Conflict as a Potential Area for Investment for Media**

The Kargil war also provided an opportunity for the media to explore the potential of conflict related news content in Indian media context. As noted by respondent 2B,<sup>28</sup> who was a veteran from Indian Army, *"... I think it was the Kargil conflict, which also gave a spurt to a lot of Indian business houses to look at media as a potential area for investment. And you found new media houses coming up."* The war proved to be an event for the Indian news media, which was lately experiencing the boom in news channels and experiencing the newly found power in terms of expanding numbers of news channels and 24X7 news relay culture. As noted by respondent 6F<sup>29</sup>, a civilian officer who have served term as longest defence spokesperson for Ministry of Defence (MoD), *"Kargil Review Committee Report that came during that time in history it was the television which was at its peak and it was actually a great huge event when the war was being beamed to life from those border areas."*

### **Indian Media Made Positive Milieu for the Indian Armed Forces**

Despite the earlier news reporting criticizing the functioning of the armed forces and related security and intelligence lapses from the Indian side, gradually the Indian news media reporting underwent a transformational change and one can see a frame of empathy being constructed by the news media to project and convey the Indian armed forces efforts to the general masses. While speaking about the role of media reporting on the military, defence veteran respondent

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<sup>24</sup> The respondent was from defence journalism.

<sup>25</sup> The respondent was from defence journalism

<sup>26</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

<sup>28</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

<sup>29</sup> The respondent was a civilian officer who have served term as the longest defence spokesperson for Ministry of Defence (MoD). The respondent was a deviant case as the individual was neither from armed forces nor from defence journalism but acted as bridge between both the institutions.

1A<sup>30</sup> said, *"It (Indian news media) did unite the entire country. It did create the sentiments and the right mood in the country. It did give lot of backing to the Army from the emotional angle of the country is concerned. So therefore there was a very positive take as far as media is concerned by virtue of this report."* As observed by defence journalist, respondent 8H<sup>31</sup>, *"But I can tell you as far as Kargil war is concerned army could, army gained much from the media reporting which was done at the time. Also the Indian Media reports triggered empathy towards Indian armed forces. As pointed out by defence veteran, respondent 4D<sup>32</sup> who was a veteran from the Indian Army, "The obvious ones where we were reported well was Kargil. Right. All the glory that came from Kargil is an example of a good you know, good media getting good media coverage. I want a good media, but the media coverage. Suddenly there's a lot of empathy now. Nobody was there asking any questions, there were just reporting what they are seeing what and some of them had gone there so they knew the difficulties."*

### **Government and Military Adopted Systematic Approach towards Media**

Understanding the complex nature of the Indian media military relationship, one can see efforts from both the government institution and military to adopt a systematic approach while dealing with media. It is observed that the military became more conscious about the media and began to realize the impact it can create in the minds of masses, enemy state, as well as policy makers. Therefore, the need of hour was to construct an organized approach to deal with media As pointed by the respondent 6F<sup>33</sup>, *"Yes.. They (government or the military) do it in a very systematic manner and this is worked very well. And this is also by and large the standard practice all over the world, in most parts of the world."*

### **More Training to the Military Personnel to Deal with Media**

Another observation is there was an endeavor from the defence forces side to provide more professional training to the men in uniform and equip them with more skills to deal with media. As noted by the respondent 6F<sup>34</sup>, *"So what happens is that when there is the job of giving an overall sense of an event is generally done by the civilian or the PROs who are over there, who are trained in this profession, even if they are from the military, they are also trained in this, in communication, the art of communication and the media and it is with their help that the operational person comes and they briefed the media about the event."*

## **INDIAN MEDIA-MILITARY RELATIONSHIP DURING KARGIL WAR: THE NEGATIVE DIMENSION**

### **Tilt in the News Media Narrative Balance**

The war also witnessed the change in the reportage narrative in Indian Media. Previously the reporter used combat related terminologies. As pointed by respondent 10J<sup>35</sup>, who was an experienced defence correspondent, *"Whereas earlier it wouldn't be, you know two Indian soldiers have been killed in combat or lost in combat...."* However, during this war, there was shift in the narrative created by the media. Talking about this shift, respondent 6F<sup>36</sup> observed, *"In the first part there*

<sup>30</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

<sup>31</sup> The respondent was from defence journalism.

<sup>32</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

<sup>33</sup> The respondent was a civilian officer who have served term as the longest defence spokesperson for Ministry of Defence (MoD). The respondent was a deviant case as the individual was neither from armed forces not from defence journalism but acted as bridge between both the institutions.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid (n-34)

<sup>35</sup> Respondent was from defence journalism.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid (n-34)

was there were a lot of negative publicity which happen to the Armed Forces but in the second part of the war the media was briefed properly, systematically and quite a few of them were actually taken to the theatre and they could report on the goings-on there based on briefings and not an hearsay.” As noted by defence journalistrespondent10J<sup>37</sup>, “So if you look at for example, the use of the word martyrs soldiers were martyred. 1999 the war is the first time this kind of language is used.” Moreover, that shift can be witnessed in the role of reporter as well as in the style of defence reporting done in India. As pointed by respondent 10J<sup>38</sup>, “So rather than simply reporting if you like defense reporting became almost theatrical is not the right one, but kind of form of performance for the nation.” Reporting seen as the ‘performance for the nation’ questions the very basic principles of journalism, which advocates about the objectivity in reporting.

### **Rise of Nationalist Journalism**

This phase also witnessed the rise of nationalism in the reporting of the event of war. A phenomenon, which was experienced in the US media military relationship during the Gulf war. As noted by respondent 10J<sup>39</sup> who was an experienced defence correspondent, “The first was that certain kind of I don't know how to put this but a patriotic or a nationalist journalism cropped up whether media saw itself not only as a reporter of information but also as an instrument through which a patriotism could be generated the sacrifices of soldiers valorized a national a position, if you like broadcast and to create a so to speak National consensus, and this is something that has developed across media platforms in the years since.”

This draw parallel with the kind of media reporting occurring during the Iraq War (2003–2011), where it was been observed that the US media-military relationship during this time was "distraction, desensitisation and arrogance" where both the establishments "manufacture entertainment rather than offering information". The distraction was in the form of glorifying the US military efforts in war instead of bringing to light the poor decisions made by them. Also, the reporting from war zone "transformed into a "cinematic narrative," where "showcasing a heroic embedded icon" in the form of wounded soldiers, continued to distract the American population back home.<sup>40</sup> (Tuosto 2008).

The similar phenomenon was can be witnessed during this period where one saw the transformation of the Indian news media, which although started with the critique of the Indian Army decision, as pointed by respondent 2B,<sup>41</sup> who was a veteran from the Indian Army, “The Army which actually was to blame very largely for what had happened in the sense that our intelligence had not worked. Our surveillance had not given us the right picture and the Army was found wanting in the overall initial steps.” However, gradually transformed into glorifying the Indian military efforts instead of asking tough questions.

While speaking about the transformational changes and infusion of patriotism in the news reporting and its effect on the masses, respondent 2B<sup>42</sup> noted, “Furthermore, it was a necessity of the situation which brought about this very great transformational change. And its started these this success was almost immediate because as the scenes of the battle in of Kargil started entry into the drawing rooms, there was a huge patriotic fervor, number one.”

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<sup>37</sup> Respondent was from defence journalism.

<sup>38</sup> Respondent was from defence journalism.

<sup>39</sup> Respondent was from defence journalism.

<sup>40</sup> Tuosto, B. K. (2008). The “Grunt Truth” of Embedded Journalism: The New Media/Military Relationship. *Stanford Journal of International Relations*, Fall/Winte, 20–31.

<sup>41</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

<sup>42</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

### **Lack of Understanding of Conflict Related Knowledge from Media Side**

The Kargil war brought many lacunas existing in India Media Military relationship. Lacks of knowledge from both sides were observed from both the institutions, which not only had negative impact but also emerged as a major and multidimensional challenges for the Indian Media Military Relationship.

As pointed by respondent 5E<sup>43</sup>, who was an ex-serviceman and presently working in media, *"But I find that is both pedantic and very petty because to that extent to argue at the current stage who monitors and holds on to what part of the line of control is something which is sometimes debated. For instance most of the media in India is unaware that the line of control runs on the map on a particular grid reference, but on the ground that the barbed wire fencing is not necessarily on the LOC per se."*

### **Ignorance on Part of Indian News Media in Dealing with Information**

Another ill effect, which was observed during the Kargil war and also in subsequent conflicts was that either due to ignorance or eagerness of the reporter, unchecked information regarding the conflict was passed to the enemy unknowingly. Later, it has been observed that in instance like the Kargil War of 1999 or Mumbai attacks on 2011, due to Indian news media ignorance or eagerness on the part of the reporter have led to information leakage and proved advantageous to the enemy state and non-state actors involved in it. As observed by respondent 1A<sup>44</sup>, *"Second is that there are certain ill effects also, like I am given to understand that in some of the bunkers they had TVs and those TVs did operate and in those TVs some of our actions and militants did get to know this is the ill effect of the media or of being so open."*

While contemplating on the reasons behind the ignorance from the electronic media, respondent 8H<sup>45</sup> noted, *"..... but problem came because when this war took place in 1999 that was the time when electronic media has just began in India. We all know that 24 into 7 News Channel asked about the first one and it had started in 99. So for electronic media this was for the first time they were covering this war. Newspaper or the print reporters, they had idea of defense beat and military functionings. But see some of the electronic media reporters had also come from print media at the time also, so they were covering but they had no full-fledged idea, you know what can be a war scenario."*

### **Under-Preparedness of Indian Military to Deal with Media**

The Kargil war also highlighted how the armed forces were not prepared for the media boom and media's changing role during those times. As noted by respondent 2B<sup>46</sup>, *"So when you come to Kargil by the time we came to Kargil, we had already been about nine years into the Kashmir conflict. And in those nine years, I don't think we ready looked upon media in any institutionalized way."* As observed by respondent 5E<sup>47</sup>, *"...it (KRC Report) doesn't spell out the situation in detail that how the military should engage with the media effectively."* As pointed by respondent 9I<sup>48</sup>, *"We have to go back to Kargil and look at what happened then. A lot of people talk about Kargil as the best example of synergy between the military and the media. Yes, the outcome did reflect the synergy, but it wasn't it wasn't the planned interaction"*

<sup>43</sup> Respondent was an ex-serviceman and presently working with Indian news media.

<sup>44</sup> The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

<sup>45</sup> The respondent was from defence journalism.

<sup>46</sup> The respondent was from defence background in general and Indian Army in particular.

<sup>47</sup> Respondent was an ex-serviceman and presently working with Indian news media.

<sup>48</sup> The respondent was from defence journalism.



or planned engagement in Kargil." No doubt there was a synergy, but this was an impromptu, not a well thought strategy from the armed forces. This reflects an ignorance and lack of preparedness from the military side to prepare itself to deal or engage with the media despite of the advancement occurring in the Indian media landscape during those times.

### **Media also Used by Non-State Actors against India**

This phase also witnessed the usage of media, especially the news media being abused by the non- state actors or separatist to fuel discord in India. Pointing out at the misemploy of media, respondent 2B<sup>49</sup> noted, "*It's not only the army of the government of India, it is also the separatists and others taking advantage of the fact that India has got a very free system of media.*"

### **CONCLUSIONS**

Media-military relationship can be seen as one dimension of civil military relationship. Media-military relationship is often seen as a 'symbiotic relationship', as per the scholarly work referred in this direction. A 'symbiotic relationship' is a specific kind of species interaction, which can be occasionally favorable, occasionally detrimental. However, a 'symbiotic relationship' is capable of providing an equilibrium that can only be accomplished through working together.<sup>50</sup> The Kargil war proved itself also as a 'symbiotic relationship' between Indian media and military which accomplished a positive image for India and exposed Pakistan's intention before the international community. Moreover, one can also see Kargil war as 'catalyst' and the intervening factor which made a significant transformation in the media-military was the KRC Report which jump-(re)-started a progression in Indian Media-Military Relationship. A war, which proved to be a turning point in Indian media military relationship.

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<sup>49</sup>The respondent was an Ex-Indian Army General.

<sup>50</sup>*Symbiotic Relationship: Definition & Examples - Video & Lesson Transcript | Study.com.* (2019). *Study.com.* Retrieved 13 May 2019, from <https://study.com/academy/lesson/symbiotic-relationship-definition-examples-quiz.html>

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